1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
• [836] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1909, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chacha*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14-16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

WHEN a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Cadio.

[2] Landaeta, 1910, p. 629–30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [581] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- 757 vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kofiaw*.[6] *Kofiaw* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kofiaw may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[6] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 720.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 619. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

548 829 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lonko* supervised negotiations with the *lonko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 836 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakudun*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *añaw domo* ("loose woman").

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakeñuw*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakeñchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakeñchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakeñchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. At the *trawu-*

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Munizaga, 1950, pp. 131–69; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

2: Titiev Σ-5 (1948) 1949 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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chumlí chefel
inche ta eimi chechei.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[26] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[27] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[28]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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kuki ami kuki
mülfichi duke
runo piyelmi
welu rüpü küllu
kiso lelmi runo
feipi ülayu
trig mapu mew
wefpalen inche
pu che mew ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me duke ("cousin" or "wife"),[29] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Araucanian pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their duke [mother's brother's daughters] as potential mistresses. If not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[26] Yami ülafe ayu mewen ilkovalle, "your heart soul." However, ayu also means "flesh" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where is the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This reminds her of the opposite intentions in him.

[27] For the use of mami see the free translation of "Duke's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[28] Daughter is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[29] Compare footnote 19.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[20] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. [illegible] is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[20] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

Laws.—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telmen-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Inapire-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 19[illegible] SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pelpel, weñáqwe, wadawa.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cûga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cûga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cûga; Molina, 1901, p. 157; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other."

A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called fundorno. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, these children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepún) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words lugu and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 720-723).

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

7

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

B:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Courtship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock animals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberations of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastised. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls

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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *küllatun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained. 423 583

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation. 583 584 [578] [167]

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else. 584 896 848 [167]

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not other closely related to him [571] [558]

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836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would
948 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being
578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri-
558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger
of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make
responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The
[170] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from
a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love
836 affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party,
through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a
more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a
growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves
a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend,
however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these de-
part from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding
ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body
of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of
supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of
beliefs.

[802] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed
against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In
681 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the
690 national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according
[754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur-
[692] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of
839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this
836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who
had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said
[628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or
the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close.
[754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is
170 usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the
[628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category
[692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum-
stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly
involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which re-
sulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led
to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is so much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antonil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antonil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antonil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antonil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antonil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antonil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antonil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antonil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antonil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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135 of nominal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not absorb her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not scolded by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *kofkun*, which consists of rubbing an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made to smile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby -- which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it -- to a witch who performs *kofkun*. If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *kofkun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and rituals there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the exogamic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the erosion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilineal system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's exogamic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in Mapuche Social Structure (Faron 1961a).

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relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and established during the several phases of the patrimonial marriage ritual.

Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to day to extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of sexual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably incomplete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries more literally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of patrol with giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly ordained. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would